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ABSTRACT

This introductory survey describes the English contribution to the vocabulary of modern Russian. The author presents an analysis of English loanwords based on the etymologies of Vasmer and Lexin, by subject classification (amusements, clothing, economics, food, nautical terminology, and technology). Separate commentary on sporting terms, where English influence has been the strongest, precedes an extensive analysis of phonetic and phonemic patterning in four major types of loanword borrowing. (RL)

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ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN RUSSIAN

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The aim of this paper is to describe the English contribution to the vocabulary of modern Russian. This study treats a relatively untouched area of investigation, and therefore must be regarded only as an introductory survey. Several specific topics which are in need of further examination will be pointed out.

The main sources used were general and specialized dictionaries of the contemporary language.[1] It will be shown that English lexical penetration is greater than heretofore could be assumed. Existing histories of Russian have failed to indicate the extent of Anglo-Saxon influence.[2] The significance of the English element in Russian becomes immediately evident from a breakdown of loanwords listed in the most recent Soviet dictionary devoted to borrowings.[3] A count reveals that of the living languages, English is second only to French and is approximately equal to German in the number of words contributed to the lexicon of contemporary Russian.

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The first influx of Anglicisms into Russian goes back to the early eighteenth century, when borrowing from the West began in earnest.[4] Attempts by the Slavophiles to evict these Europeanisms were not successful.[5] The first loans from English were nautical terms, which together with Dutch borrowings make up a considerable part of the Russian marine vocabulary even today.

A curious instance of Western, particularly American, cultural influence on Russian has been reported in recent years from the Soviet Union.[6] Some Soviet young people, reacting against the puritanical preachings of Communist morality, have an obsession for American jazz music and slang. These so-called stiljági love to use English words such as rock, good-bye, Broadway, etc. Such Anglicisms cannot, of course, be considered loanwords. As yet, they are used only with a narrow social group.

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Numerous Anglicisms absorbed by Russian have also entered other European languages. From presently available information, it is often impossible to determine whether a given borrowing has passed into Russian directly or through an intermediary language. The chief possible intermediaries seem to be French and German. As indicated above, these languages and English are the main living sources of loanwords in Russian. (The role of other languages is, of course, not excluded.) The lists of borrowings below will show any French or German forms of corresponding Anglicisms in Russian even though several are clearly not the immediate source of the Russian term. (Cf. French boycottage — Russian bojkót 'boycott,' French bifteck — Russian bifštéks 'beefsteak,' etc.)

Occasionally the position of the stress in a given word may be helpful in determining which language was the immediate source. Since a perusal of entries in Lëxin's Slovar' shows that Russian loans from French are usually end-stressed (except for certain endings: -a <-e muet, -or <-eur, etc.),[7] root-stressed borrowings in Russian can be assumed to be free of French influence. It will be shown, however, that the criterion of stress must be applied with extreme caution.

A difficult group of borrowings in regard to original source language is the nautical terminology. The phonetic closeness of many English and Dutch terms and the frequent simultaneity of their entrance into Russian often render etymologies uncertain. Further special study on the history of Russian nautical terminology should elucidate several doubtful derivations.

Loanwords reflect the cultural impact which one nation has made on another. Borrowings will naturally be concentrated in those spheres of activity where one nation's prestige has been high. Below are listed loanwords in several cultural categories where English influence has been strongest. A section of more important miscellaneous loans is also included. Proper names are generally omitted. No claim is made that these lists are complete. The chief sources of Russian etymologies were the dictionaries of Vasmer and Lexin. (See notes 1 and 3.)

Amusements

bándžo 'banjo'; Fr. banjo, Ger. Banjo; the Russian /dž/ points to Eng. as the direct source.
bljuz 'blues' (jazz); Fr. blues, Ger. Blues.
bridž 'bridge'; Fr. bridge, Ger. Bridge.
džaz 'jazz'; Fr. jazz, Ger. Jazz; the /dž/ coincides with the Eng. and Ger.
džíga and žíga 'jig'; Fr. gigue, Ger. Gigue (through Fr.); the form žiga apparently comes from Fr.; final e muet often appears in Rus. as -a (see above and fn. 7).
džóker 'joker' (cards); Fr. joker, Ger. Joker; the /dž/ points to Eng. and Ger.
fokstrót 'fox trot'; Ger. Foxtrott.
klóun 'clown'; Fr. 'clown,' Ger. Clown.
klub 'club,' 'clubhouse'; Fr. club, Ger. Klub.
krossvórd 'crossword.'
mjuzik-xóll 'music hall'; Fr. music-hall.
póker 'poker'; Fr. poker, Ger. Poker.
sketč 'sketch' (theatrical); Fr. sketch, Ger. Sketch.
tustép 'two-step.'
vist 'whist'; Fr. whist, Ger. Whist.

Clothing

brídži (riding) 'breeches.'
džémper 'jumper'; Fr. jumper, Ger. Jumper.
džérsi 'jersey'; Fr. jersey.
frenč 'field-coat'; from a proper name.
futbólka 'soccer jersey'; cf. futból 'soccer.'
kovbójka 'cowboy hat'; cf. kovbój 'cowboy.'
makintóš 'mackintosh'; Fr. mackintosh.
míčmanka 'petty officer's cap'; cf. míčman 'petty officer' from midshipman.
pidžák 'pea-jacket', 'jacket.'
pled 'plaid'; Fr. plaid, Ger. Plaid.
pulóver 'pull-over'; Fr. pull-over, Ger. Pullover.
redingót 'riding coat'; the Fr. form of this Anglicism—redingote—was apparently the immediate source; Eng. redingote is a back borrowing from Fr.
smóking 'smoking jacket'; Fr. smoking, Ger. Smoking.
svíter 'sweater'; Fr. sweater, Ger. Sweater.
ténniska 'tennis jersey'; cf. ténnis 'tennis';
trúsiki 'trousers.'
vel'vét 'velvet.'

Commerce and Economics

bíznes 'business'; often pejorative.
biznesmén 'businessman'; often pejorative.
bojkót 'boycott'; Fr. boycottage, Ger. Boykott.
bojkotírovatʹ 'to boycott'; Fr. boycotter, Ger. boykottieren.
bróker 'broker.'
bum 'boom'; Fr. boom.
ček 'check'; Fr. chèque, Ger. Scheck; the Russian /č/ coincides with the Eng.
démping 'dumping'; Fr. dumping, Ger. Dumping.
diskónt 'discount'; possibly from Ger. Diskont.
diskontírovatʹ 'to discount'; possibly from Ger. diskontieren.
ěksport 'export'; possibly from Ger. Export.
èksportírovatʹ 'to export'; possibly from Fr. exporter or Ger. exportieren.
ímport 'import'; possibly from Ger. Import.
importírovatʹ 'to ímport'; possibly from Fr. importer or Ger. importieren.
invéstor 'investor.'
klíring 'clearing'; Ger. Clearing.
lokáut 'lockout'; Fr. lock-out.
lokautírovatʹ 'to lock out'; Fr. lock-outer.
pul 'pool.'
ring 'ring' (for cornering market); possibly from Ger. Ring.
skeb 'scab.'
svéjting or svíting 'sweating system.'
trávelersček 'traveler's check.'
tred-junión 'trade-union.'
trest 'trust'; Fr. trust, Ger. Trust.
uóll-strit 'Wall Street'; often pejorative.
uóll-stritčik 'Wall Street operator'; pejorative.

Food and Drink

bekón 'bacon'; Fr. bacon.
bifštéks 'beefsteak'; Fr. bifteck, Ger. Beefsteak and the "folk" variant Bifstück; the latter with š may have influenced the Rus. form.
džem 'jam.'
džin 'gin'; Ger. Gin.
èlʹ 'ale'; Fr. ale, Ger. Ale.
gréjpfrut 'grapefruit.'
grog 'grog'; Fr. grog, Ger. Grog.
jams 'yam.'
keks 'cake'; Ger. Keks.
koktéjlʹ 'cocktail'; Fr. cocktail, Ger. Cocktail.

lenč 'lunch'; Fr. lunch, Ger. Lunch.
ljard 'lard'; possibly from Fr. lard.
pórter 'porter' (ale); Fr. porter, Ger. Porter.
púdding 'pudding'; Fr. pudding, Ger. Pudding.
punš 'punch'; Fr. punch, Ger. Punsch.
ramštéks 'rumpsteak'; Ger. Rumpsteak.
róstbif 'roast beef'; Fr. rosbif, Ger. Roastbeef.
sándvič 'sandwich,' 'sandwich man'; Fr. sandwich.
turnéps 'turnip'; Fr. turnep(s).
víski 'whiskey'; Fr. whiskey, Ger. Whiskey.

Nautical Terminology[8]

bims 'beam.'
bot 'boat'; possibly from Dutch boot.
bótdek 'boat deck.'
brakéty 'brackets.'
brekváter 'breakwater.'
brídel' 'bridle,' 'span.'
brig 'brig'; possibly from Ger. Brigg.
čak 'chock.'
číksy 'cheeks,' 'sidepieces.'
dédvejt 'dead weight.'
déjdvud 'deadwood.'
díptank 'deep tank' (in hold).
dok 'dock'; Fr. dock, Ger. Dock; the Rus. form is possibly from Dutch dok.
dóker 'docker'; Fr. docker.
drednóut 'dreadnought'; Fr. dreadnought, Ger. Dreadnought.
drífter 'drifter,' 'drift boat.'
flor 'floor' (of hull).
flortímbers 'floortimbers.'
fútoks 'futtock.'
kámel' 'camel.'
káter 'cutter,' 'PT-boat'; Fr. cutter and cotre, Ger. Kutter; note also admirál'skij káter 'admiral's barge' and kapitánskij káter 'captain's gig.'
keč 'ketch'; Fr. ketch.
kèt 'cat,' 'catboat.'
kil' 'keel'; possibly from Dutch kiel or Ger. Kiel.
kil'blók 'keelblock.'
kíl'son 'keelson.'
kingstón 'kingston valve.'
klíper 'clipper'; possibly through Dutch klipper.
kofferdám 'cofferdam.'
kókpit 'cockpit.'
kómings 'coaming.'

kréngel's 'cringle.'
kvaterdék 'quarter-deck.'
lag 'log'; possibly from Dutch log.
lájner (ocean) 'liner.'
míčman 'petty officer' (Sov. navy), 'ensign' (czarist navy); from midshipman.
monitór 'monitor'; Fr. monitor.
óttertral 'otter trawl.'
píllers 'pillar,' 'stanchion.'
pirs 'pier'; Ger. Pier.
pjátners 'partners.'
planšír 'plank-sheer.'
réjder 'raider.'
rif 'reef' (part of sail); possibly from Dutch rif.
rúderpis 'rudderpiece.'
skif 'skiff'; Ger. Skiff.
skúter 'scooter.'
slip (shipbuilding) 'slip.'
spínaker 'spinnaker.'
starnpóst 'sternpost.'
stem 'stem.'
steps 'step.'
stividór 'stevedore.'
stópor or cepnój stópor 'chain stopper.'
strínger 'stringer.'
strop 'strop,' 'strap'; possibly from Dutch strop.
šel'f 'shelf.'
šel'terdék 'shelter deck.'
širstrék 'sheer strake.'
tánker 'tanker'; Ger. Tanker.
ténder 'tender'; Fr. tender, Ger. Tender.
top 'top'; possibly from Dutch top.
tópsel' 'topsail'; possibly from Dutch topzejl.
tral 'trawl.'
tráler or tráuler 'trawler.'
trál'ščik 'trawler.
tramp 'tramp' (freighter); Ger. Tramp.
tránec 'transom.'
trísel' 'trysail.'
vaterlínija 'waterline' (see comments on loanblends below); possibly from Dutch waterlijn.
vátervejs 'waterway.'
vel'bót 'whaleboat.'
vél'sy 'wales.'

Technology (abridged)

babbít 'babbitt' (metal.).
bámper 'bumper' (auto).
baréttter 'barretter' (radio).
bessemerovánie 'bessemerizing'; Fr. bessemérisation, Ger. Bessemern.
blistr 'blister copper.'
bljum 'bloom' (metal.); Fr. bloom.
búfer 'buffer.'
bul'dózer 'bulldozer'; Fr. bulldozer, Ger. Bulldozer.
bul'dozeríst 'bulldozer-operator.'
búster 'booster engine.'
dérrik 'derrick.'
detéktor 'detector' (radio).
dónka 'donkey engine.'
džígger 'jigger' (ceramics, mining).
džip 'jeep.'
fíder 'feeder' (elec.).
forsúnka 'force pump,' 'sprayer.'
glézer 'glazer' (paper).
gréjder 'grader' (road-const.).
grídlik 'grid leak' (elec.).
kogérer 'coherer' (radio).
kombájn 'combine' (agri.).
kompáund 'compound engine.'
kontéjner 'container.'
konvéjer 'conveyor,' 'assembly line.'
konvértor 'convertor' (elec., metal.).
kréking or krekírovanie 'cracking' (petrol.); Fr. cracking, Ger. Kracking.
krip 'creap' (metal.).
línter 'linter' (text.).
míkser 'mixer' (metal.).
mjul' 'mule' (text.).
níppel' 'nipple,' 'adapter'; possibly from Ger. Nippel.
ofsét 'offset' (print.); Fr. off-set.
pikáp 'pickup truck.'
plúnžer 'plunger.'
puddlingovánie 'puddling' (metal.).
radár 'radar'; Fr. radar, Ger. Radar.
resíver 'receiver' (mach.).
revérser 'reverser' (elec.).
skrájber 'scriber' (carpentry).
skréper 'scraper' (road-const.).
sljab 'slab' (metal.).
sljábing 'slabbing mill.'

spidómetr 'speedometer.'
stóker (automatic) 'stoker'; Ger. Stoker.
šéping 'shaping machine.'
šunt 'shunt' (elec.).
ténder 'tender,' (railroad); Fr. tender, Ger. Tender.
tjúbing 'tubing.'
vateržakét 'water jacket.'
xéder 'header' (agri.).

Miscellaneous

bar 'bar' (for drinks); Fr. bar, Ger. Bar.
bebé 'baby'; the Rus. form is obviously from the Fr. Anglicism bébé, which also entered Ger. as Bébé.
bill' 'bill' (political); Ger. Bill.
bixeviorízm 'behaviorism' (psych.); Fr. behaviorisme, Ger. Behaviorismus.
blef 'bluff'; Fr. bluff, Ger. Bluff.
blefovát' 'to bluff'; Fr. bluffer, Ger. bluffen.
bojskáut 'boy scout'; Fr. boy-scout.
bul'dóg 'bulldog'; Fr. bouledogue, Ger. Bulldogge.
búngalo 'bungalow'; Fr. bungalow, Ger. Bungalow.
déndi 'dandy'; Fr. dandy.
dispétčer 'dispatcher.'
dóllar 'dollar'; Fr. dollar, Ger. Dollar.
džentl'mén 'gentleman'; Ger. Gentleman.
džúngli 'jungle'; Fr. jungle, Ger. Dschungel.
džut 'jute'; Fr. jute, Ger. Jute.
fil'm 'film'; Fr. film, Ger. Film.
fol'klór 'folklore'; Fr. folk-lore, Ger. Folklore.
fut 'foot' (measure).
gángster 'gangster'; Fr. gangster, Ger. Gangster.
gerlskáut 'girl scout.'
interv'jú 'interview'; Fr. interview (a back borrowing; cf. entrevue.), Ger. Interview.
kengurú 'kangaroo'; Fr. kangourou, Ger. Känguruh.
kol'dkrém 'cold cream'; Fr. cold-cream.
kollédž 'college'; Ger. College.
komfórt 'comfort'; Ger. Komfort.
kottédž 'cottage'; Fr. cottage.
kovbój 'cowboy'; Fr. cow-boy.
líder (political) 'leader.'
lift 'lift,' 'elevator'; Ger. Lift.
linčevánie 'lynching.'
linčevát' 'to lynch'; Fr. lyncher, Ger. lynchen.
míster 'mister.'
míting (political) 'meeting'; Fr. meeting.

mitingóvščina 'the holding of many meetings.'
sejf 'safe'; Ger. Safe.
skver 'park,' 'public garden'; from square; Fr. square.
sleng 'slang'; Ger. Slang.
snájper 'sniper.'
snájping 'sniping.'
snob 'snob'; Fr. snob, Ger. Snob.
splin 'spleen' (fig.), 'melancholy'; Fr. spleen, Ger. Spleen.
stend 'stand.'
šampún' 'shampoo'; apparently through Fr. schampooing; Ger. Schampoo.
šrapnél' 'shrapnel'; Fr. shrapnel, Ger. Shrapnell.
tank 'tank' (military); Ger. Tank.
tent 'tarpaulin,' 'car-top'; from tent.
tost 'toast'; Fr. toast, Ger. Toast.
tramváj 'tramway'; Fr. tramway.
trápper 'trapper'; Ger. Trapper.
trolléjbus 'trolleybus.'
xoll 'hall,' 'auditorium,' 'waiting room'; Fr. hall.
xuligán 'hooligan,' 'juvenile delinquent.'
xuligánit' and xuligánstvovat' 'to act like a hooligan.'
vaterklozét 'water closet'; Fr. water-closet.
vokzál 'railroad station'; from Vaux Hall amusement park in London.

English sporting terms in Russian require special comment.[9] Anglo-Saxon influence has been stronger on Russian sport terminology than on any other part of the vocabulary. The influx of Anglicisms for athletics after World War I became so great that a reaction set it. Certain borrowings, especially for soccer, tennis, and boxing, have given way to Russian equivalents, which are now the prevailing terms. The dislodged Anglicisms are at present obsolete, rare, or sporadic.

In the creation of Russian terms to replace loans, various methods were used.[10] Firstly, the borrowing could be replaced by a Russian synonym, with some extension of the Russian word taking place (in the examples given, the original loanword is given first, followed by the Russian replacement): bek 'back' (soccer)—zaščítnik; fórvard 'forward'—napadájuščij; djus 'deuce' (tennis)—róvno; set 'set'—pártija; klinč 'clinch'—zaxvát; penál'ti 'penalty'—štraf; etc. In several instances, a compound was created to render a monomorphemic Anglicism: šop 'chop' (tennis)—rézanyj udár; fol 'foul'—grúbja igrá; xuk 'hook' (boxing)—bokovój udár.

Secondly, analyzed English terms consisting of more than one morpheme could be rendered by so-called loan translation. Loan translation and extension are extremely close to each other and may be considered variants of the same process—loanshift.[11] The basic type of loan translation consists of element by element translation:[12] xavbék 'halfback' —poluzaščítnik; fri kik 'free kick'—svobodnyj udár; sajd step 'side step'—bokovój šag; etc. When the Russian compound was not the result of an exact calque, but was merely suggested by the concept expressed in the English model, we have loan rendition: békxènd 'backhand'—udár sléva; débl-folt 'double fault'—snóva net; ofsájd 'off side' (soccer)—vne igrý, etc. Thirdly, a neologism could be created to render a borrowing: fút-folt 'foot fault'—zašág. Fourthly, an archaism could be resurrected: golkíper 'goalkeeper'—vratár'. The last two methods are rare.

In regard to štraf replacing penál'ti and pártija replacing set, we see older, more completely integrated loanwords prevailing over newer ones.

Notwithstanding the reduction of borrowings, Russian sport terminology has retained a large number of Anglicisms. These have already been listed elsewhere.[13]

The essential conclusion to be drawn from the above is that Russian has absorbed numerous Anglicisms, the largest groups thereof being in sports, nautical terminology, and technology. Several loans are obviously of very recent origin: bixeviorízm, bljuz, bul'dózer, džip, radár, uóll-stritčik, etc. They demonstrate that English (including American English) is still influencing the lexicon of Russian.

As evident from the lists, the great majority of English borrowings are nouns. In certain instances, adjectives have been derived from loan nouns in accordance with the general rules of Russian word formation: džaz—džázovyj; kil'—kilevój; xuligán—xuligánskij; etc. Such derivatives were not listed. Other types of suffixation will be illustrated below.

English loanwords, like loanwords in general, vary widely in their degree of assimilation into the overall Russian lexicon. In this respect, four general groups of loan-types might be distinguished. Group I loans are those which have become an integral part of the general, cultured Russian vocabulary. Examples: bifštéks, fil'm, klub, lift, míting, tramváj, vokzál, xuligán, etc. Several words of this group are in such frequent use that they have been included in

Josselson's Word Count, i.e., they belong to the 5000 most frequently used words in Russian—klub, míting, vokzál.

Group II borrowings consist of technical terms ordinarily not used by the layman. Examples: bixeviorízm, grídlik, kíl'son, krip, xéder, etc.

Group III is made up of loans referring to non-Russian cultures. Examples: kollédž, linčevát', míster, trápper, etc. Kollédž can refer only to an English or American college. It never replaces vuz. Míster precedes only an Anglo-Saxon name. Linčevát' is normally used only in reference to the United States. The same action occurring elsewhere would be podvergát' samosúdu. Trápper always denotes a fur trapper in North America. Otherwise, the Russian term terms oxótnik or zverolóv are used. Tred-junión never conflicts with profsojúz. Additional examples could be cited readily. Certain borrowings, originally of this type, have lost their limited use and have passed or are passing into Group I: biznesmén, gángster, etc.

Group IV loans consist of terms which are now obsolete, rare, or sporadic. The sporting terms mentioned above such as bek, djus, klinč, etc., belong here. Brekváter never did overcome its native competitor volnolóm. Drednóut was always in marginal use by contrast to bronenósec, etc.

Attention should be drawn to those instances where an English word is reproduced in a Russian text without actual borrowing taking place. For instance, in a Soviet periodical the following statement was made in a description of golf:[14] "Odnix bit—tak nazyvaemyx klëbov—nužno imet' 13 štuk." 'One must have, to start with, 13 sticks, the so-called clubs.' Here klëb 'club' cannot be considered a loan: it has not yet entered the lexicon of Russian. If, however, golf were to take root in Russia, klëb would of course be assimilated.

Certain Anglicisms in Russian entered English in relatively recent times from a third language. The most obvious words of this type are those coming from languages spoken in areas colonized by the British: búngalo, džut, jams, kengurú, etc. Other examples are those terms which passed through English from Romance: detéktor, diskónt, dispétčer, éksport, gréjder, intervjú, invéstor, kogérer, kollédž, kombájn, konvéjer, konvértor, skrájber, etc.

Words such as míčman 'petty officer,' skver (public) 'garden,' stájer 'long distance runner' (from stayer), tent

'car-top,' etc. demonstrate how a semantic shift may take place in the borrowing language.[15] Biznesmén and uóll-strit with their new pejorative connotations also belong here. A semantic shift may indicate the influence of an intermediary language. For example, the meaning of skver (public) 'garden' is similar to that of French square. Flirt 'flirting' coincides in meaning with French flirt and German Flirt.

Klub 'club' is an example of how borrowing may occur despite the existence of a homonym—klub 'puff.'[16]

We can now pass to the phonetic and morphological integration of English loans in Russian. One noteworthy phonetic feature of many borrowings is the shift of stress to the ultimate. Examples: babbít, bekón, bifštéks, bixeviorízm, biznesmén, bul'dóg, fokstrót, fol'klór, interv'jú, kingstón, kol'dkrém, kombájn, kompáund, kottédž, krossvórd, lokáut, pikáp, radár, stividór, vel'vét, vokzál, xuligán, etc. In trolléjbus the shift is to the penult. Penultimate stress seems regular when the last syllable of the original is -er: brekváter, bul'dózer, pulóver.

The reason for the stress shift is not clear. To be sure, many of the words listed above also exist in French. However, the stress shift cannot be attributed simply to filtration through French. Firstly, the shift has occurred in words that definitely did not pass through French: babbít, kombájn, krossvórd, stividór, vel'vét, xuligán, etc. Secondly, numerous direct German loanwords in Russian show a similar shift: abléger 'Ábleger,' absác 'Ábsatz,' incúxt 'Ínzucht,' kamertón 'Kámmerton,' kunštjúk 'Kúnststück,' landšáft 'Ländschaft,' plackárta 'Plátzkarte,' šlagbaúm 'Schlágbaum,' umláut 'Úmlaut,' etc.

It must be kept in mind that no stress shift takes place in many English and German loanwords (some of which are also known in French): bíznes, búngalo, dédvejt, déndi, dérrik, gréjpfrut, grídlik, invéstor, kíl'son, óttertral, róstbif, snájping, ténnis, víski, ábris, 'Ábriss,' míttel'špil' 'Míttelspiel,' štírbort 'Stéuerbort,' etc.

In accordance with the principle of penultimate stress in English words ending in -er (German -el, -e, -er), there is no shift in words such as džémper, gángster, káter, lájner, tráler, trápper, flígel' 'Flügel,' márka 'Márke,' šífer 'Schíefer,' etc. (cf. partér from French parterre).

The only conclusion possible at this time is that Russian borrowings from English (and German) often, but not always,

shift the stress to the ultimate. Force of analogy with loans from French may play a role.

The treatment of vowels in borrowings from English can be summarized as follows.[17] The statements for /ə/, /a/-/ah/, /ow/, and /ɔh/ take stress into account. In regard to the other vowels, stress seemed irrelevant for the examples encountered in the material examined.

1. English /i/ usually becomes Russian /i/ (with regular palatalization of the preceding consonant): bíznes, brig, drífter, klíper, skif, ténnis, víski, vist. The change to /e/ in kréngel's 'cringle' is exceptional.

2. English /iy/ also corresponds to Russian /i/ (with regular softening): bims, číksy, déndi, fíder, grídlik, kil', míting, rif, stividór. The change to /a/ in dónka 'donkey' is morphological and will be discussed below.

3. English /e/ usually corresponds to Russian /e/ (the softening of consonants before /e/ will be treated below): ček, frenč, keč, ofsét, stem, steps, šel'f, ténder. The change to /i/ in svíting is exceptional. The /ej/ in the variant svéjting and in déjdvud is a hyper-Anglicism, i.e., it assigns a typical English diphthong to a syllable where no such diphthong exists in the original.[18]

4. English /ey/ often becomes /ej/: gréjder, gréjpfrut, kontéjner, konvéjer, réjder, sejf. On the other hand, the change to /e/ also occurs: èl', glézer, keks, skréper. The change to /aj/ in stájer 'long distance runner' from stayer is exceptional.

5. English /ae/ and /aeh/ most frequently become Russian /e/: déndi, džem, kèt, kréking, pled, skeb, sleng, stend. The change to /a/ is also possible; bándžo, džaz, jams, tánker. The variants xéndbol and gándbol 'handball' illustrate the fluctuation beween /e/ and /a/.

6. The treatment of English /ə/ is confused. Stressed /ə/ is reflected most frequently by /e/, /a/, or /u/: blef, džémper, trest, bámper, káter, ramštéks, búfer, klub, plúnžer, šunt.

The fate of unstressed /ə/ depends on whether the preceding consonant in Russian is softened or not. If softening does take place, /ə/ becomes Russian /i/: bróker /bróḱ'ir/, džémper /džémp'ir/, káter /kát'ir/. If softening does not take place, the Russian reflex of /ə/ is apparently influenced by the English spelling. The letter e results in /e/ and the letters a and o result in /a/. Examples of /e/:[19] fíder/

f'íder/, kontéjner /kantéjner/ (last syl.), réjder /r'éjder/, skúter /skúter/. Examples of /a/: dóllar /dólar/, investor /inv'éstar/, kontéjner /kantéjner/ (1st syl.).[20]

7. English /a/ and /ah/ often become /o/ in stressed position: dóker, dóllar, gol'f 'golf,' spidómetr, stópor, top. They may sometimes correspond to /a/: čak, lag, ljard. The /a/ often appears in pretonic position (see note 20): koktéjl', kombájn, kompáund, nokáut 'knockout,' nokdáun 'knockdown,' trolléjbus, vokzál.

8. English /ay/ usually becomes /aj/: kombájn, lájner, skrájber, snájper, tajm 'time' (of sporting event). The shift to /i/ in brídel' is exceptional.

9. English /aw/ is usually reflected by /au/: bojskáut, kompáund, lokáut, nokáut, nokdáun, raund 'round.' Other correspondences are sporadic: /ou/ in klóun, /av/ in kovbój, /u/ in trúsiki.

10. English /u/ and /uw/ become /u/: bljux, bul'dózer, bum, búster, déjdvud, interv'jú, kengurú, pul, pulóver, xuligán.

11. English /ow/ seems to become /o/ when stressed: bot, bróker, bul'dózer, pulóver, róstbif, smóking, stóker, tost. In pólo 'polo' the final unstressed o remains /o/: /pólo/ (see note 20). In fol'klór and kol'dkrém English /ow/ is reflected by pretonic /a/.

12. English /ɔy/ becomes /oj/ in kovbój.

13. English /ɔh/ often becomes /o/ when stressed: bul'dóg, flor, kort (tennis) 'court,' kross 'cross country,' xoll. It becomes /a/ in unstressed position: forsúnka, ofsét, óttertral (last syl.). English /ɔh/ sometimes becomes /a/ in stressed position: tral, tráler, vátervejs. The variant tráuler with /au/ should be noted.

This analysis has shown that there is a general tendency to reproduce the phonetic character of the English vowels by using the closest Russian vocalic phonemes. However, many inconsistencies and exceptions exist. The treatment of English /ə/ is confused since there is no clearly corresponding Russian phoneme. Certain English phonemic distinctions such as /i/-/iy/, /ae/-/aeh/, and /u/-/uw/ disappear in Russian.

In general, the vowels occurring in Anglicisms have been assimilated into the phonological system of Russian. Exceptions are the use of atonic /e/ and atonic /o/, as in

pólo. In addition, the diphthongs /ou/ and /au/, as found in klóun and lokáut, do not occur in native Russian words.

The description of the English consonant system is less complex than that of the vowels. The consonantal correspondances are mostly clear and need no special comment. Occasionally English consonants appear softened in Russian when a hard consonant would be expected: pjátners 'partners.' This occurs frequently with /l/: bill', bul'dózer, koktéjl', ljard, sljab, vel'bót, etc. This softening probably results from the influence of West European borrowings with a front (l). English pre-vocalic /w/ is usually rendered as /v/: krossvórd, vateržakét, víski, vist, etc. However, the use of /u/ also occurs in uóll-strit. English pre-vocalic /h/ is reproduced by /g/ or /x/: git 'heat' (sports), kogérer, xoll, xuligán, etc. The variants gándbol and xéndbol also illustrate this vacillation.

English /dž/ usually corresponds to Russian /dž/: bándžo, džaz, džémper, džóker, džut. Occasionally Russian has /ž/: vateržakét, žokéj 'jockey.' Initial /dž/ does not occur in native Russian words. It has been assimilated easily since the same affricate is found within native Russian compound words (at the juncture of prefix and root): podžárit' 'to roast,' podžáryj 'lean,' podžát' 'to draw in,' podžóg 'arson,' etc.[21]

The so-called first Slavic palatalization does operate in derivatives: bul'dóg—bul'dóžij, pidžák—pidžáčnyj.

The most difficult problem regarding consonants is their description as to hardness or softness before e (= /e/ and /i/<e) in English borrowings. Apparently, there exists considerable variation among Russian speakers in regard to softening before such an e.[22] Therefore, generalizations must be treated with caution. The velars /g/, /k/, and /x/ are usually soft before e: gerlskáut /g'erlskáut/, keks /k'eks/, xéder /x'éder/. The labials /b/, /p/, /m/, and /v/ are often soft:[23] bekón /b'ekón/, klíper /k'líp'ir/, biznesmén /b'iznesm'én/, vel'bót /v'el'bót/. The dentals /t/, /d/, /n/, /s/ and the rolled /r/ are often hard: ténnis /tén'is/, déndi /dénd'i/, bíznes /b'íznes/, sétter 'setter' /séter/, trek 'track' /trek/. However, exceptions are not rare. In the following examples, the consonants before e are soft: káter /kát'ir/, lájner /lájn'ir/, rekórd 'record' /r'ekórt/, sejf /s'ejf/, etc. The lateral /l/ can be soft:[24] blef /bl'ef/, lédi 'lady' /l'éd'i/.[24] The variant

lĕdi should also be noted (the letter è is also used to indicate hardness in kèt and sèr 'sir').

The overall conclusion of this phonological survey is that transfers from English into Russian reproduce the phonetic structure of the original rather closely. Examples of contraction such as míčman, pidžák or planšír are rare.

In regard to morphology, English borrowings are declined like other Russian nouns. Since most English words end in a consonant, the great majority of loan-nouns in Russian are masculine. Normally they have immobile stress. Mobile stress is rare: pidžák, gen. sgn. pidžaká, etc.; káter, nom. pl. katerá, etc. Nouns ending in the soft sign are mostly masculine: bill', èl', kil', koktéjl', níppel', šampún', tópsel'. The lone exception encountered was šrapnél', which is feminine. Several nouns have been borrowed as singular in the English plural form, i.e., with the -s ending. Thus, bims nom. sgn., bímsa gen. sg., bímsy nom. pl., etc. Other examples are: bifštéks, kómings, kréngel's, pirs, steps, turnéps, vátervejs.[25]

Borrowings from English may be combined with Russian morphemes to form so-called hybrid compounds (or loanblends): džáz + ovyj 'jazz' (adj.), lokaut + írovat' 'to lock out,' miting + óvščina 'the holding of many meetings,' uóll-strit + čik 'Wall Street operator,' vater + línija 'waterline,' xuligán + it' 'to act like a hooligan,' etc. The suffix -ka marks the feminine: basketbolíst + ka 'female basketball player.' The loanblend pidžačíško 'miserable jacket' illustrates the fusion of an Anglicism with a pejorative suffix (-iško).

Several well integrated English nouns have generated large families of loanblends. Note, for example, the compounds stemming from tank (military) 'tank': tank-amfíbija 'amphibian tank,' tankétka 'small tank,' tankíst 'tankman,' tank-istrebítel' 'tank chaser,' tankístskij 'tankman' (adj.), tankodostúpnyj 'accessible to tanks,' tankodróm 'tank training (or testing) area,' tankofón 'tank interphone,' tankonedostúpnyj 'tankproof,' tankoopásnyj 'exposed to tank attack' tankostroénie 'tank building,' tankostroítel'nyj 'tank building' (adj.), tankostroítel'stvo 'tank-building industry,' tankovoždénie 'tank driving,' tánkovyj 'tank' (adj.), protivotánkovyj 'antitank.'

The following blends require special comment:

1. Džúngli is always plural in form. The plural

morpheme i was perhaps added under the influence of débri 'jungle,' 'thicket,' which is also plurale tantum.

2. In forsúnka 'force pump,' 'sprayer' the root fors— seems to have fused with two Russian suffixes: -un (cf. kolún 'chopper,' polzún 'slide bar,' šatún 'connecting rod,' etc.) and -ka (cf. futbólka 'soccer jersey,' letúčka 'leaflet,' maslënka 'oil can,' vjazánka 'bundle,' etc.) In dónka 'donkey engine' the ending is not a phonetic aberration but probably resulted from a blend of donk— with -ka.

3. In trúsiki 'trousers' and tránec 'transom' the last syllables of the originals were dropped before the suffixation of -iki and -ec.

4. The compound futštók 'measuring (foot) stick (Stock)' is a rare example of the uniting of an English morpheme with a German morpheme. The learned Anglo-Greek compounds tankodróm and tankofón should also be noted here.[26]

This study has shown that in certain cultural spheres English influence on Russian is noteworthy. It has not yet been established which loanwords passed through an intermediary language. The importation of Anglicisms has not ceased.[27]

Notes

1. The most important sources for the Russian vocabulary were the following: I. V. Lëxin and F. N. Petrov, Slovar' inostrannyx slov (5th edn., Moskva, 1955); D. N. Ušakov, Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka (4 vols., Moskva, 1935-40); Academy of Sciences, Slovar' russkogo jazyka (1st vol. of 4 to appear, Moskva, 1957); Academy of Sciences, Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (6 vols. of 15 to appear, Moskva, 1950-57); M. Vasmer, Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (3 vols., Heidelberg, 1953-58); Bol'šaja sovetskaja ènciklopedija, S. I. Vavilov chief ed. (2nd edn., 50 vols., Moskva, 1950-57); B. T. Kolpakov, Eksportno-importnyj slovar' (3 vols., Moskva, 1952-54); A. Ja. Vyšinskij and S. A. Lozonskij, Diplomatičeskij slovar' (2 vols., Moskva, 1948-50); Ju. A. Stepanov et al., Kratkij politexničeskij slovar' (Moskva, 1956); L. I. Callaham, Russian-English Technical and Chemical Dictionary (New York and London, 1947).

The following works served as the basis for the pronunciation, morphology, and orthography of standard Russian: R. I. Avanesov, Russkoe literaturnoe proiznošenie (Moskva,

1955); Academy of Sciences, Grammatika russkogo jazyka (Moskva, 1953), I; S. I. Ožegov and A. B. Šapiro, Orfografičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka (Moskva, 1958).

The following works were the chief sources for English, French, German and Dutch: Merriam-Webster, New International Dictionary (2nd edn., Springfield, Mass., 1958); A. Dauzat, Dictionnaire étymologique (7th edn., Paris, 1938); J. E. Mansion, Heath's Standard French and English Dictionary (reprinted, 2 vols., Boston, 1953); F. Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, (17th edn., Berlin, 1957); Trübners deutsches Wörterbuch (8 vols., Berlin 1939-57); R. Perkun, Das deutsche Wort (3rd edn., Heidelberg, 1955); M. J. Koenen and J. Endepols, Verklarend Handwoordenboek der Nederlandse Taal (22nd edn., Groningen, 1948).

2. For example, see A. A. Šaxmatov, Očerk sovremennogo russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (Moskva, 1941), p. 93; W. K. Matthews, The Structure and Development of Russian (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 146-147. E. M. Galkina-Fedoruk et al., Sovremennyj russkij jazyk (Moskva, 1957), p. 51, does point specifically to English loans, but gives only an extremely short list thereof.

3. Lëxin and Petrov, op. cit. Vasmer's Wörterbuch does not give sufficient coverage of very recent borrowings to be helpful in gauging the relative contributions of English and modern German to the lexicon of Russian. It might be noted here that Lëxin and Petrov do not deal adequately with the question of indirect loans.

4. See Galkina-Fedoruk, p. 50. For comments on the past role of Polish as the intermediary between the West and Russian see B. Z. Margarjan, "O slove počta," Voprosy jazykoznanija, 1959, No. 2, pp. 117-118.

5. See, for example, G. Huettl-Worth, Die Bereicherung des russischen Wortschatzes im XVIII Jahrhundert (Vienna, 1956), pp. 69, 77.

6. See New York Times of February 3, 1957, and July 13, 1958.

7. A few examples are: abažuf 'abat-jour,' abonemént 'abonnement,' abordáž 'abordage,' abrežé 'abrégé,' absént 'absinthe,' aféra 'affaire,' akcionér 'actionnaire,' akušër 'accoucheur,' akvarél' 'aquarelle,' alljúr 'allure,' al'truízm 'altruisme,' avangárd 'avant-garde,' avánс 'avance,' avanscéna 'avant-scene,' avantáž 'avantage,' avantjúra 'aventure,' aviátor 'aviateur,' ažiotáž 'agiotage,' etc.

8. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professors Harry Keller and Claude Lemieux of the U. S. Naval Academy for their comments on this list of nautical terminology. Professor Keller pointed out several loanwords, which,

otherwise, would have gone unrecorded. Their comments indicate the necessity of a special study on nautical terminology that, among other things, would establish which borrowings are obsolete or marginal.

9. For more detail see M. Benson, "English Loan Words in Russian Sport Terminology," American Speech, XXXII, No. 4 (Dec. 1958), pp. 252-259.

10. See Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact (New York, 1953), pp. 47-62, and Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language XXVI, 210-231, for a analyses of interlingual influence on word creation.

11. Haugen, pp. 219-220.

12. See Weinreich, p. 51 for various types of loan translation.

13. See Benson, pp. 253-256.

14. Sportivnaja žizn' Rossii, No. 10, 1957, p. 21.

15. See also L. A. Bulaxovskij, Vvedenie v jazykoznanie (2nd edn., Moskva, 1954), II, 116-117.

16. See Weinreich, p. 58.

17. The phonemic transcription of English used here is that of George L. Trager and Henry L. Smith, An Outline of English Structure (2nd printing, Washington, D.C., 1956). The transcription records this writer's pronunciation. For the phonemic transcription of Russian, see George L. Trager, "The Phonemes of Russian," Language, X, 334-344.

18. See L. Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p. 449.

19. This atonic /e/ appears only in loanwords. See also Avanesov, op. cit., p. 133. Cf. Trager, "The Phonemes ...", p. 338.

20. It must be kept in mind that unstressed etymological o becomes /a/ in the standard Moscow pronunciation. Usually this akan'e also takes place in Anglicisms. To be sure, in words felt strongly to be foreign, unstressed /o/ can occur. See Avanesov, p. 123, where, for example, the first syllable of kotéjl' is spelled phonetically as (kok). Cf., however, the entry for koktéjl' in Avanesov and Ožegov, p. 171, where the /a/ pronunciation is indicated. Probably there is some fluctuation among Russian speakers in the pronunciation of foreign unstressed o.

21. See also Avanesov, p. 127.

22. See A. B. Šapiro, "Ešče raz o našej orfografii," Russkij jazyk v škole, 1958, No. 4, p. 93, and G. Vinokur,

Russkoe sceničeskoe proiznošenie (Moskva, 1948), pp. 77-78. For the whole problem of softening in foreign words before e, see Avanesov, pp. 130-133, and Avanesov and Ožegov, pp. 540 ff.

23. See also Avanesov, p. 130. Cf. Avanesov and Ožegov, p. 551, where the labials p, f, and m are described as often "semi-palatalized" before e in loanwords.

24. Avanesov, p. 130, points to the possibility of an intermediate (Western European?) l.

25. See also L. A. Bulaxovskij, p. 119, where similar examples of singular nouns from German plurals are cited: rózan 'Rose,' klápan 'Klappe,' lókon 'Locke,' etc.

26. See also V. P. Grigor'ev, "Tak nazyvaemye internacional'nye složnye slova v sovremennom russkom jazyke," Voprosy jazykoznanija, No. 1, 1959, pp. 65-78.

27. I should like to express my gratitude to the Ohio University Research Committee, which granted support for this study.

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